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Gaimard in D'Urville, p. 307. D'Urville, pp. 113, 136, 176, 193, 197. Coote, p. 157. Joest, Tagebuch, p. 81. According to D'Urville, pp. 322 and 362, a native of Uea lived on Tikopia. According to Thilenius, Ethnograph. Ergebnisse aus Melanesien [Ethnographic Results from Melanesia], I, p. 27, and Globus, LXXXI, p. 135, Ndeni also trades with some of the New Hebrides; despite Codrington, did this come about through European influence?

• 648 Mixed marriages
177 between Vanikoro and Tikopia took place, at least among the
[191] chiefs' families. A number of Vanikorese understood the Polynesian idioms. At times Vanikoro stood in a dependent relationship with Tikopia, a situation whose aftereffects may have
[776] included the worship on Vanikoro of an atua[1] from Tikopia in D'Urville's day (2). Chiefly, however, traffic between the in-

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2. Dillon, p. 167. D'Urville, pp. 155, 217; on Vanikoro Gaimard observed a dance imported from Tikopia (in D'Urville, p. 333) and reports, p. 342, that the language of Utupua and Ndeni was known. Cf. also Lesson in Revue d'Anthropologie, V, pp. 257 ff.

dividual islands is based on commercial interests: Vanikoro obtained tapa and fine mats from Tikopia, whereas Tikopia obtained mother-of-pearl and finished articles, such as necklaces made from cowrie-like shells (?) and bows and arrows, from Vanikoro (3).

3. Dillon, p. 171.

For the northern islands as far as Sikaiana, Vanikoro was the
[313] chief export point for wood for boat-building, because of its forests(4).

1 [atua = supernatural beings or gods--Analyst.]

4. Dalrymple, p. 153.

[130 cont.] at the signal of their leader (Ndeni, 642 "Taurike"; Taumako, "Taliken"), the natives took up arms 648 against the strangers and laying them aside, supplied the Spaniards with food, in fact, even abandoned a village when Torres and his people wanted to establish themselves there. Malope, the friend of Mendana, enjoyed especially great esteem, and his murder by Spanish soldiers was the signal for a general revolt. The chief of Taumako, Tamay, interceded for four of his subjects whom Quiros dragged off to use as interpreters. On his first [554] formal visit, Malope, who was accompanied by two respected natives, wore blue, yellow, and red feathers in his hair as a sign of distinction. Tamay used his bow as a staff (1). Since that

1. Dalrymple, pp. 79, 81, 86 f., 128. Then cf. Labillardière, p. 260.

642 time the importance of the chiefs seems to have diminished on [178] Ndeni and to have entirely disappeared in parts of the island. To be sure, Dillon and Coote mention chiefs; the former re- [622 634] ports that as a rule each village has its chief, although sometimes one rules over four or five villages. Lamoa, the chief [229] of the village visited by Dillon, seemed to enjoy some authority among his subordinates. The occupants of the dance areas, of whom Codrington speaks, are probably likewise chiefs (2). On

2. Dillon, pp. 299, 314. Coote, p. 159. Codrington, p. 333. Markham, p. 145, mentions chiefs on Nukapu.

the other hand, Joest does not mention chiefs, nor are they mentioned in the reports of natives translated by O'Ferrall, although taboos are mentioned in them. D'Urville and Dillon 622 found the chief-system highly developed on Vanikoro, probably as a result of the considerable Polynesian influence from Tikopia. [171] Evidently a true chief's or prince's position in the Polynesian [565] sense existed here. Gaimard lists quite a number of persons

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999 Today, besides Mr. Matthews, only one missionary of
999 the Melanesian Mission periodically lives on Nitendi, and coloni-
169 zation by Whites has never been very great. Thus there is little direct contact between Whites and natives on the island itself.

181 The inhabitants of Nitendi do not enjoy a very good repu-
• 648 tation and are regarded as war-like and aggressive, probably not entirely unjustly, for Mendaña himself, the discoverer of the island, was greeted with a hail of arrows, even before he landed.
[609] This was the customary welcome accorded almost every stranger in Melanesia, however, and if elsewhere strangers were first induced to land then attacked, this in itself shows the more candid and more courageous character of the Nitendi men. And in fact, they seem candid and not very crafty, at least in comparison with the inhabitants of the New Hebrides. Now that they have become accustomed to generally peaceful intercourse with Whites as a result of missions and recruitment, they are, in contrast to other Melanesians, gay, trustful, and obliging, even in
[596] front of Whites. Only a slight infraction of their etiquette, however, arouses spontaneous enmity. Then they reach for the bow and arrow, but their anger quickly subsides, especially if they do not have the advantage, and a payment will usually atone for the crime. Often it seems as though they fight only to satisfy their laws. The beginnings of gratitude are there.

181 A sense for the comic is strongly developed. There is
[532] great fondness for ridicule, and their wit seems to be keen and to the point. A man's weak side is grasped in a moment and forever afterward it is laughed at and ridiculed. They have no compassion. Other people's suffering leaves them cold or amuses them, whereas their own pain is very strongly felt, not so much chronic suffering as acute injury.

231 Animals are tortured out of carelessness, but domestic
855 animals are well cared for. Children are treated tenderly (1),

854 1. [Probably everywhere the smaller children are carried by the mother on the left hip in the bark-cloth shawl,

3:Davenport E-5 (1958-1960)1962
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[795(c)]

435 tent, especially for purposes of interna-
436 tional exchange, the Western capitalist
121 economies still refer their currencies to the value of gold on the world market. But in the main it is the scope of the modern state's authority and the extent of its jurisdiction that effectively fix the value of its currency.

Lacking the power to regulate demand (by such devices as manipulation of the interest rate), primitive societies must rely on measures that control the supply of currency against the demand in their completely free markets. Frequently the supply is limited by natural or social circumstances beyond the control of its users, much as the scarcity of gold or silver once set the value of the dollar or the pound. Often, however, the nature of the currency is such that the society could "mint" it without limit. Scarcity is then maintained by some convention that, through consumption, destruction or deterioration, renders the currency valueless and withdraws it from circulation.

The red-feather currency system shows both principles in operation. The supply of new money is regulated by the availability of the red feathers and by the output of the hunters and artisans who make the money; old currency goes out of circulation because it loses value
436 as its color fades. Produced by the natives of Santa Cruz Island itself, the red-feather currency circulates throughout most of the islands in the group. In
[631] these islands, where the indigenous political organization has never extended beyond a single village, it functions as international currency, the common medium of exchange among peoples who speak different languages and live in contrasting ecological settings.

131 The Santa Cruz Islands, part of the
[648] British Solomon Islands Protectorate,

3:Davenport R-5 (1958-1960)1962
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131 are scattered over some 15,000 square miles of the Pacific Ocean just north of the New Hebrides Islands. Santa Cruz, a volcanic island, is the largest in the group as well as its financial center. About 25 miles to the north is a chain of small coral islets called the Reef Islands, and midway between these and Santa Cruz [133] is Tinakula, a volcano too spectacularly [361] active for human settlement. The Duff Islands, 60 miles northeast of the Reefs, are remnant peaks of a narrow volcanic ridge. The only other large islands of the group are Utupua and Vanikoro, respectively some 40 and 60 miles south of Santa Cruz.

177 Partly as the result of a long history of inhospitality to visiting mariners and missionaries, the islands were left pretty much to themselves even through the first two decades of this century, when colonial powers were asserting dominion over other islands in the Pacific. It was not until 1923 that the British assumed [648] direct administration of the islands, which they had claimed since 1899, and only since World War II has the Santa Cruz group actually been drawn into the 161 current of world affairs. Today some 7,000 people inhabit the islands, most of them concentrated along the north coast of Santa Cruz and in the eastern Reef Islands. The people of the Duffs 144 and the western Reefs speak a Poly- 197 nesian language and are racially similar to the Polynesians of the central Pacific islands. The darker Melanesians of the eastern Reefs and Santa Cruz itself speak four local languages that constitute an independent language family. Melanesians also live on Utupua and Vanikoro, but their three languages belong to the large Malayo-Polynesian 184 family. The cultures of Santa Cruz and 436 the islands north of it are similar in spite of language and racial differences, and 438 it is through this area that the red-

458 177 [435] [438] [648] [287] [583] [465] quantity of Australian money within the Santa Cruz group has caused a precipitate fall in its value in terms of local goods. Once a shilling bought 10 pounds of native tobacco; now it buys half a pound. During the same period, in an effort to increase copra production by channeling more islanders into plantation work, the colonial administration has taken steps that tend to depress interisland and intervillage trade in domestic products. Less feather currency is needed and less is being produced. At the moment there are only five men on Santa Cruz who bind currency, whereas a decade ago there were more than a dozen. Yet marriages go on as before, and men still refuse to marry off their daughters without receiving the traditional red-feather payment. Indeed, there is no area of the islands' economy in which confidence in the feather currency has been shaken. The craft and agricultural specialists still demand red-feather money for their best products.

[436] With the value of feather currency rising as it becomes scarcer and that of Australian money dropping as it becomes more abundant, the market price of feather currency in Australian pounds has increased nearly 20 times in the past 15 years. Although it is recognized that 25 Australian pounds is the appropriate par value for a new piece of feather money, it takes considerably more than that to induce the currency specialists to turn one out. This is, to [223] [825] be sure, not true in the case of the bird snarers. As a result of the decreased production of feather money, the *Myzomela cardinalis* population has been increasing; the snarers can take birds more easily and in more accessible places and they would be willing to work for the old rates. But the labor involved in making platelets and binding new currency [287] has not diminished. Like skilled artisans anywhere, the specialists in these processes prefer to charge more and work less. In pricing their labor they are mindful not only of today's high market but also of the fact that the value of their product in Australian money is likely to be even greater as time passes. As a result the production of feather currency has now fallen behind even the currently reduced demand. As the "bad" Australian money drives out the "good" red-feather currency in accordance with Gresham's law, a simple society in the South Seas is experiencing a monetary crisis familiar to many more sophisticated economies.

with diseases. After several great epidemics, the population set into a decline which has only now been arrested. The British Solomon Island Protectorate brought them under direct governmental control in the mid-1920's, and more and more men began going out to work under regulated recruiting conditions. These recruits, of course, returned with trade goods. All of these factors influenced the economic system greatly, but trading and the use of feather currency went on as before. There is certain evidence that the cessation of feuding and the importation of steel tools and other articles of civilized manufacture actually stimulated the internal economy rather than depressed it. Small amounts of Australian currency did get into circulation as early as 1930, but not in sufficient quantity to alter the internal monetary system. By the end of the Pacific War, however, the situation had dramatically changed. Recruiting shot up, laborer's wages increased greatly, imported trade goods, though never really plentiful—not even today—became well distributed, and appreciable amounts of Australian money came to be used alongside of and interchangeably with feather currency. As regards currency, the acculturation dilemma had started. The two currencies were in circulation side by side, and it seems as if it would be a matter of simple choice of one over the other. Now let us look at the results of this choice situation after more than a decade of real competition between the two currencies.

The production of feather currency has dropped far below what it normally would be, but the demand for it has remained constant. As a consequence, the value has risen sharply and continues to rise. By comparisons of its purchasing power in pigs and in bride prices, the value has risen 200 to 300 per cent in the past fifteen years. This deflation applies equally to Santa Cruz Island where it is made and to the outer islands toward which it flows and where it has always been scarcer. Conversely, Australian money has increased as more and more men have gone out to work and brought back some of their net incomes in cash. From comparisons of savings of wealthy men, it is estimated that the amount of Australian currency in circulation has risen at least 400 per cent in the past fifteen years. Its buying power with respect to imported trade goods has remained roughly the same, for these prices have risen along with wages. The demand for Australian money has certainly increased as people have come to depend more and more upon imported goods which can only be purchased with it, but its buying power with respect to local products—pigs, for instance—has greatly diminished as it has become more plentiful.

As always, these two currencies are, in theory and in fact, perfectly convertible, even though there are some difficulties in fixing values due to the nonquantified means of valuation in feather currency. But with feather currency becoming scarcer and Australian money becoming more plentiful, the exchange rates have been altering drastically. As an illustration, a piece of feather currency which could have been purchased easily for one pound in 1945 might now command as much as twenty. Even at this price, an owner might be reluctant to part with his feather currency, for he may not wish to convert from a currency which is increasing in value to one which in terms of the internal economy is doing the opposite. Because of this unwillingness, it has become harder to fix a value in Australian money for feather currencies of very high value (i.e., those that are very scarce), while those pieces of very low value are easily converted or exchanged.

The slowdown in the production of feather currency is traceable directly to the actions of one of the three specialists, the binders. There are but five of these men currently working on Santa Cruz Island. Since their own needs for feather currency can be easily satisfied by their own work, they wish to ply their trades principally for Australian money. Like skilled workers anywhere, they prefer to work less for large margins of profit than more for small margins. There are young men in the line of inheritance, but